

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 1796

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, CSCE

SUBJECT: CSCE AND WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION

REF: (A) USNATO 1767 (B) USNATO 1702

1. AS REPORTED REF A, INTERNATIONAL STAFF HAS DISTRIBUTED REVISED VERSION OF DRAFT PAPER ON "PUBLIC INFORMATION ASPECTS OF A POSSIBLE CSCE AGREEMENT" REFLECTING CHANGES SUGGESTED IN MARCH 27 SPC MEETING (REF B). SET FORTH BELOW IS TEXT OF REVISED IS DRAFT; FOLLOWED, IN TURN, BY MISSION COMMENTS AND REQUEST FOR GUIDANCE FOR USE AT NEXT SPC DISCUSSION NOW SCHEDULED FOR APRIL 7.

BEGIN TEXT:

PUBLIC INFORMATION ASPECTS OF A POSSIBLE CSCE AGREEMENT

1. THE SOVIET UNION AND HER ALLIES WILL PRESENT THE CONCLUSION OF THE CSCE AS A TURNING POINT IN EAST/WEST RELATIONS, ESPECIALLY IF THE CONCLUDING STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE IS HELD AT THE LEVEL OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT. ALREADY CONFIDENTIAL

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MR. BREZHNEV HAS EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE WILL REPRESENT A "HUGE ACHIEVEMENT" AND PROVIDE A "POLITICAL FOUNDATION" FOR FUTURE TASKS. (IT IS SUGGESTED THAT, AT THEIR NEXT MEETING, THE EXPERT WORKING GROUP ON THE SOVIET

UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE MIGHT USEFULLY UNDERTAKE FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF THE SOVIET ATTITUDE AND LIKELY FUTURE CONDUCT WITH REGARD TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE CSCE AND ITS AFTERMATH).

2. FOR THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE THE CONCLUSION OF THE CSCE WILL ALSO HAVE POSITIVE RESULTS, TO WHICH ALLIED GOVERNMENTS WILL BE EXPRESSLY COMMITTED THROUGH THEIR ACT OF PARTICIPATION IN THE FINAL CONSENSUS REACHED IN THE CONFERENCE. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT WILL NOT DIMINISH THE NEED FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF ADEQUATE MILITARY DEFENCE, AND IT MAY BE NECESSARY TO COUNTER SOVIET ATTEMPTS AT ABUSIVE USE OF THE CONCLUSION OF THE CSCE TO WEAKEN POLITICAL DETERMINATION IN THE WEST TO MAINTAIN SUCH ADEQUATE DEFENCE.

3. AGAIST THIS BACKGROUND, THE MANNER IS WHICH THE OUTCOME OF THE CSCE IS PRESENTED BY GOVERNMENTS AND BY THE MEDIA IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE WILL BE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE. SINCE SITUATIONS WILL VARY WIDELY FROM COUNTRY TO COUNTRY, NO ATTEMPT SHOULD BE MADE TO AGREE ON A SINGLE LINE OF PUBLIC PRESENTATION. IT WILL, HOWEVER, BE DESIRABLE TO AVOID DISCORD IN THE PRESENTATION OF BASIC ISSUES, AND THERE IS THEREFORE ADVANTAGE IN HAVING AN AGREED BODY OF MATERIAL AND ARGUMENTS TO BE DRAWN ON AT WILL ACCORDING TO CIRCUMSTANCES. THE BROAD OBJECTIVES SHOULD BE TO ESTABLISH CLEARER UNDERSTANDING OF THE NATURE OF DETENTE AND OF THE NEED TO CONTINUE TO CARRY FORWARD THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPING EAST/WEST RELATIONS WHICH IS STILL ONLY AT ITS BEGINNING; TO BRING HOME THE IMPORTANCE OF SEEING THAT THE RESULTS OF THE CSCE ARE IMPLEMENTED; AND TO STRESS THE NEED TO SEE THE POLITICAL WORK OF DETENTE CARRIED OVER INTO THE MILITARY FIELD.

GENERAL GUIDANCE

4. THE FOLLOWING IS PUT FORWARD AS GENERAL GUIDANCE:

(I) THE RESULTS OF THE CSCE MUST BE SEEN IN THEIR CORRECT PROPORTIONS IN THE WIDER CONTEXT OF EAST/WEST
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RELATIONS GENERALLY AND OF OTHER CONTINUING EAST/WEST NEGOTIATIONS. THE PROCESS OF DETENTE INVOLVES MUCH MORE THAN THE CSCE ALONE. THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF DETENTE ARE IMPORTANT. BUT EQUALLY IMPORTANT ALSO ARE THE MILITARY ASPECTS. THE MILITARY CONFRONTATION REMAINS AND REQUIRES BOTH A CONTINUING ALLIANCE DEFENCE EFFORT AND PATIENT NEGOTIATION IN ON-GOING ARMS TALKS;

(II) THE CSCE IS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN DETENTE AND A MAJOR STEP IN EAST/WEST MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY. BUT IN NO SENSE IS IT A CAPSTONE OR TURNING POINT. THE RATE OF FUTURE PROGRESS OF EAST/WEST RELATIONS IN AREAS COVERED BY THE CSCE WILL DEPEND UPON THE MANNER

IN WHICH PRACTICAL EFFECT IS GIVEN TO THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE, PARTICULARLY IN REGARD TO THOSE ISSUES OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE TO THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE;

(III) THE ALLIED COUNTRIES DO NOT LOOK FOR SUDDEN CHANGE. BUT THEY DO NOT ACCEPT THAT A PURPOSE OF THE CSCE IS TO FIX FINALLY THE TERRITORIAL STATUS QUO IN EUROPE. THE OVERALL EFFECT OF THE CSCE MUST BE DYNAMIC, NOT STATIC. THE ALLIED COUNTRIES WISH TO BUILD TOWARDS INCREASED EAST/WEST COOPERATION, AND ONE CRITERION BY WHICH THE CSCE MUST BE JUDGED IS HOW FAR IT ADVANCES SUCH COOPERATION AND HELPS TO OVERCOME DIVISIONS IN EUROPE; BRACKET HERE, OR ELSEWHERE, IN THE PAPER A PASSAGE IS TO BE ADDED ON THE SUBJECT OF "PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE" BRACKET;

(IV) ONE GAIN FROM THE CSCE IS TO HAVE RENDERED POSSIBLE EAST/WEST DISCUSSION OF HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION AND, IN THIS CONNEXION, IT IS TO BE NOTED THAT THE RESULTS OF THE CSCE ARE INTENDED TO APPLY REGARDLESS OF A COUNTRY'S MEMBERSHIP OF ONE OR ANOTHER IDEOLOGICAL GROUPING. FOR SOME ALLIED COUNTRIES THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE CONFERENCE IN THIS FIELD OF HUMAN CONTACTS ARE OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE;

(V) THE CONCLUSIONS OF THE CSCE DO NOT SEEK TO MAKE ANY CHANGE IN INTERNATIONAL LAW AND DO NOT HAVE THE FORCE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. NONETHELESS THEY HAVE GREAT CONFIDENTIAL

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POLITICAL AND MORAL VALUE. NO ONE SECTION OF THE CONCLUSIONS HAS A SPECIAL STATUS DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF THE OTHERS, OR IS OF GREATER WEIGHT. CBMS AND THE "PRINCIPLES" MUST BE TREATED AND IMPLEMENTED EQUALLY, AS MUST BE THE OTHER CONCLUSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE:

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 1796

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

(VI) IT WOULD BE UNREALISTIC TO LOSE SIGHT OF THE GREAT DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IN SEVERAL AREAS, AND OF THE FACT THAT THE RESULTING TEXTS ARE BY NO MEANS ENTIRELY SATISFACTORY OR UNAMBIGUOUS. THIS FURTHER UNDERLINES THE IMPORTANCE OF IMPLEMENTATION AS THE ONLY TRUE CRITERION FOR A FINAL JUDGEMENT.

PRACTICAL STEPS

5. THE MANNER AND TIMING OF THE DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION WILL REQUIRE ATTENTION. SOME PREPARATORY STATEMENTS COULD BE DESIRABLE BEFORE THE CONCLUSION OF THE SECOND PHASE OR IMMEDIATELY AT OR AFTER ITS CONCLUSION, AND ADVANCE CONSULTATION ON THESE WOULD BE DESIRABLE. STATEMENTS MADE BY HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT AT THE CONCLUDING PHASE ITSELF WILL BE OF KEY IMPORTANCE. THERE IS LIKELY ALSO TO BE A NEED FOR CAREFUL FOLLOW-UP STATEMENTS. MINISTERIAL AND OTHER OFFICIAL STATEMENTS WILL CERTAINLY BE ANALYSED AND COMMENTED BY THE MEDIA AND IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO TRY TO GIVE APPROPRIATE GUIDANCE TO THIS COMMENT.

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FOOTNOTE

() THE POSSIBILITY OF ADDING AN ANNEX OF MORE DETAILED GUIDANCE ON SPECIFIC CSCE ITEMS IS STILL ENVISAGED:

(B) IN THE LIGHT OF THE REVISED TONE OF THE PAPER, THE PARAGRAPH ON "NEGATIVE REACTION TO THE CSCE" HAS BEEN OMITTED. DELEGATIONS MAY HOWEVER STILL WISH TO GIVE FURTHER THOUGHT TO THIS.

END TEXT.

2. COMMENT: DESPITE IS EFFORT TO MEET ALLIED SUGGESTIONS CITED PARA 1, REF A, MISSION BELIEVES PAPER COULD STILL STRIKE BETTER BALANCE BETWEEN ALLIED PROFITS AND LOSSES IN CSCE. FOR EXAMPLE, AFTER STATEMENT IN FIRST PARAGRAPH ON HOW SOVIETS WILL TREAT THEIR CSCE ACHIEVEMENTS, PARAGRAPH TWO WOULD BETTER REFLECT ALLIED CSCE GAINS IF AMENDED AS FOLLOWS:

-THE ALLIES TOO HAVE ACHIEVED SUBSTANTIAL RESULTS IN IMPORTANT HUMANITARIAN AND OTHER AREAS FROM THE CSCE NEGOTIATIONS AS THEIR PARTICIPATION IN A SUMMIT MEETING AT HELSINKI BEARS WITNESS."

THOUGHT CONTAINED IN SECOND SENTENCE OF PRESENT PARAGRAPH 2 MIGHT THEN RECEIVE EMPHASIS IT DESERVES BY MAKING SENTENCE NEW THIRD PARAGRAPH.

3. SIMILARLY, SPECIFIC WESTERN ACHIEVEMENTS SHOULD BE MORE CLEARLY IDENTIFIED FOR PR EMPHASIS AND MISSION WOULD SUGGEST THAT THEY BE INCLUDED AS NEW, FIRST SUBPARAGRAPH IN PARAGRAPH 4 ON "GENERAL GUIDANCE," AS FOLLOWS:

4(I)
BY PATIENT AND COORDINATED EFFORTS BOTH BEFORE AND DURING THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS, THE ALLIES WERE ABLE TO ACHIEVE SIGNIFICANT RESULTS IN CSCE. FOR EXAMPLE, WESTERN AND OTHER AUDIENCES SHOULD BE INFORMED THAT:

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--HUMAN AND CULTURAL COOPERATION HAVE BEEN REGISTERED FOR THE FIRST TIME AS PROPER SUBJECTS FOR EAST-WEST MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATION

--MULTILATERAL EAST-WEST UNDERSTANDINGS HAVE BEEN REACHED IN THE AREAS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES, FAMILY REUNIFICATION, GREATER ACCESS TO INFORMATION AND IMPROVED WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS AND SCHOLLARS.

--IT HAS ALSO BEEN AGREED THAT EUROPEAN FRONTIERS CAN BE CHANGED BY PEACEFUL MEANS THAT ARE MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY TO THE PARTIES INVOLVED.

--UNDERSTANDINGS HAVE ALSO BEEN REACHED FOR THE FIRST TIME ON A EUROPE-WIDE BASIS WHICH SHOULD CONTRIBUTE TO GREATER CONFIDENCE IN THE MILITARY SECURITY OF THE EUROPEAN AREA.

--THE EAST, BY ITS ACCEPTANCE OF NORTH AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN CSCE, HAS THEREBY ALSO FORMALLY ACCEPTED A CONTINUING NORTH AMERICAN ROLE IN EUROPEAN SECURITY.

--USEFUL PROVISIONS HAVE ALSO BEEN FORMULATED WHICH WOULD FACILITATE EAST-WEST TRADE CONTACTS BY, FOR EXAMPLE, PERMITTING IMPROVED ACCESS TO BUSINESS INFORMATION AND BY STRENGTHENING THE ARBITRATION PROVISIONS OF CONTRACTS.

4. MISSION BELIEVES INCORPORATION OF ABOVE POINTS WOULD BRING

PAPER CLOSER TO STRUCTURE AND CONTENT ENVISAGED IN STATE 58933 AND GENEVA 1898. IN ADDITION, MISSION BELIEVES PAPER SHOULD INCLUDE GUIDANCE ON SPECIFIC FEATURES OF CSCE RESULTS EITHER IN SEPARATE SECTION ON "DETAILED POINTS" AS SUGGESTED BY FRG (PARA 4, REF A), OR IN ANNEX AS SUGGESTED IN FOOTNOTE TO PRESENT IS DRAFT. WHILE MUCH OF THE WORK ON SPECIFIC CSCE ELEMENTS CAN ONLY BE DONE AS NEGOTIATIONS DRAW CLOSER TO CONCLUSION IN GENEVA, WE PROPOSE TO DRAW ON PARA 3-G OF GENEVA 1898 IN ORDER TO ACQUAINT SPC AND IS WITH KINDS OF THINGS WE THINK SHOULD BE CONTAINED IN A LISTING OF "DETAILED POINTS".

5. BEFORE NEXT SPC DISCUSSIONS APRIL 7, MISSION WOULD APPRECIATE
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DEPARTMENT AND USDEL CSCE GUIDANCE ON ABOVE APPROACH AND ON ANY OTHER ADDITIONS OR AMENDMENTS ADDRESSEES WOULD LIKE TO SEE IN IS PAPER.

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